NIXON BREAKS DOCK STRIKE

Towards a History of the Fourth International

by Lucy St. John & Tim Wohlfarth

What we think

Is Pablosm Really a Myth?

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Newark Teachers Leaders Jailed

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NIXON BREAKS DOCK STRIKE

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Rank and file longshoremen study Committee For A Decent Contract leaflet urging defiance of strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction outside New York hiring hall.

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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Newark Teachers Leaders Jailed Page 3
Bengali liberation fighters on the march against Yahya Khan.

Tories Cheer 'Independence' For Rhodesia

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On November 23, Tory Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home clinched an agreement with the apartheid regime of Ian Smith providing for the "independence" of Rhodesia dependent on "guarantees" for the country's Black majority of five million against the regime's 250,000 whites.

Conservative politicians were described as "jubilant" and Prime Minister Sir Edward Heath hailed them as "realists". The British government, hailed the settlement "for the sake of Rhodesia, sights in southern Africa and the free world."

What the settlement really represents is British capitalism's seal of approval for the regime of racism and superexploitation of the Black Rhodesian working class. The settlement has meant a "peacetime" for the London Stock Market, cheered and shares in tobacco and other companies involved in the colonial embargo against the apartheid regime.

What they were cheering was a renewed British support for the regime that gives the 250,000 whites 50 seats in Parliament and the Blacks only 16. It gives a large portion in numbers the land and educational money is divided between the races and professional and administrative jobs are reserved for whites. Of course, huge profits are being made as a result of this arrangement.

The "settlement" arranged by Home (who also helped Chamberlain negotiate the Munich agreement dismembering Czechoslovakia for Hitler in 1938) is fact nothing but a veneer for a maintenance of this situation. Even the British concede that majority rule is most unlikely before the year 2000, if ever.

From North Ireland to Rhodesia, which is throwing all pretense of "democracy" to the winds in the face of the necessity of keeping down the working class of the colonial and advanced countries alike. This means the fostering of every sort of racist, sectarian and totalitarian regime in these countries with the full approval and acquiescence of British imperialism. This means an inevitable confrontation with that same working class, determined not to bow to the future of misery the capitalists are planning for it.

The Welsh Labour Party spokesman, ex-Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley, in his reply to the announcement reproaches the Labour Party for its support of the settlement and "for the sake of the Labour Party, the Labour Party is the Labour Party, the Labour Party is the Labour Party!"

For example, what they call the "smile" of the Black Rhodesian working class over the settlement is in fact just a grimace of the Black working class. They are smiling over the regime's offer of a "peaceful road to socialism" of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

But what they do not see is the opportunity to exploit this situation to press their own policies in the country. They do not see the possibilities which exist to utilize the mood of the working class in the country to press for a "peaceful road to socialism" of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

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"The spirit of the people" need not be socialist. For Castro was right in saying that the "peaceful road to socialism" can be spread in the face of one of the most militant and most selfless officers of the U.S. Imperialism. But the state will do fine. As for any remaining support to guerrilla activities against the extreme reactionary Latin regimes, Castro says: "The day that international (U.S. sponsored refugee raids and sabotage) ceases, Cuba will be respected by the peoples of Latin America."

Castro faces a new phase of international cooperation. "For much of the guerrilla road to socialism" he said in the speech to the United Nations. "In the face of the U.S. government, which is considering the popular front in China, to a man who supported the elections of both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson as victors, it is clear that a "progressive" government responding to the new realities and interests, a government that faces the future of misery the capitalists are planning for it."

The situation is similar in the case of the army. Castro stated: "It is true that the army is not a socialist army, but it is a guerrilla army, a guerrilla army that is not afraid of the revolution. It is a guerrilla army that is not afraid of the confrontation with the United States."
By J. SZANDOR

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—While the coal contract calls for improved sick pay benefits, better pensions for miners now on retirement, $250 pensions for widows of miners killed while working, $300 for miners in the UMWA locals from the union in- feriorities, State Senator John C. Dungan, D-Centre, said a section of the miners tried to win support for Yablonski's Mine Act. It was supported in the UMWA but the miners vetoed it down. The call for autonomy for all locals and the rejection of the UMWA faction represents the rejection of Tom Boyle's bureaucracy and of Yablonski's liberal alliances.

Cambria County Miners Continue Contract Fight

By J. SZANDOR

This action on the part of Cambria County miners mirrors the situation in West Virginia where local's demands for autonomy and their complete dissatisfaction with management is not the solution and essentially a struggle which is required against the rotten and corrupted Boyle leadership. The need for a national caucus in the UMWA becomes clear. An alternative leadership must be formed in the UMWA to fight for the miners' real needs.

The contract affects the five mines of Bethlehem Mine Corporation, the Cambria County operations of Barnes & Tucker Co., and the Greenwich Collieries. They will extend the five mines in the Cambria County operations into the Fayette County and the Cincinnati area

Price Board Chief Appeals to 'Patriotism'

By a BULLETIN REPORTER

C. Jackson Grayson, the chairman of Nixon's Price Commission, has sent out a letter to 1,500 private firms to ask them to cooperate in obtaining the information that will enable him to tell the nation of their "extraordinary and patriotic efforts" in holding down price increases.

"In the newspapers these days we read stories of those who are requesting price increases. Many of these increases are justified, but there are some that don't read of many companies that have decided to hold prices down or of those that are actually reducing prices," Grayson hastened to assure his friends.

He also added that it was not asking them to make a "commitment" to hold prices down, but to present their current intentions or decisions.

So workers can expect soon to see a batch of orders out to each of the capital press of the extra- ordinary and patriotic efforts of one or two companies (out of 1,500) who have the "intention" to hold prices down.

The "patriotism" being trotted out to glorify the businessmen's friends will be seen by him to try to run down the labor side of the half of the "national interest."

We say that the American workingmen and women must not permit the security of their present and future, which they are fighting for, to be reduced. The world economy is at stake, the entire social order is at stake. The world must have a chance to rebuild itself.

The Communist Party, however, did not laugh. It fought and struggled against the movement. It told its supporters to denounce the general price increases as racist and to insist that the NTU and Newark trade unionists simply support Mayer Gibson and his anti-union policies during the strike.

This is a life and death question for the trade union movement. The NTU and its leaders must be defended to the hill against the government's union-busting attacks. The AFL-CIO must demand that all the AFL-CIO strike demanding the immediate release of all teachers and the end of all fines and jail sentences levied upon them.

N.Y. longshoremen discuss situation facing ILA at hiring hall.

Teachers Union Leaders Sent to Jail in Newark

By Bob MAcHELSON

NEWARK, November 30—Carole Graves, President of the Newark Teachers Union, Frank Fiorito, President of the New Jersey Federation of Teachers and six other NTU members were sent to jail today on contempt charges stemming from their 1970 strike.

There are a total of nearly 200 teachers who are in line to go to jail based on these contempt charges. Two more groups are scheduled to be tried this week. Christmas vacation is a courtesy, not a right. The New Jersey Supreme Court has ordered 50 teachers to be jailed on December 19, and another 430 on December 23rd. In an interview with the Bulletin, Victor Costa, a vice-President and acting president of the NTU while the leadership in jail, stated that the union had even taken the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. Nixon's reactionary servants on the Court decided not to even review the case.

Cascella said that the union based its appeal on the right of teachers and other public employees to organize in order to defend their jobs. The U.S. Supreme Court for not reviewing the case, stating that by this action the union where it stood on these basic rights of teachers and workers will occur.

But when we asked Cascella what the NTU intended to do about the judgements, he said that "There's no much we can do about it. We're trying to stay out of the way." When asked what he meant, Cascella said that the NTU was organizing a fund raising drive to replace the lost salaries of the teachers who are in jail. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is also going to pay the fines of the individual teachers, which amounts to about $45,000.

The NTU is also making a petition campaign for the purpose of asking Governor Cahill for amnesty for the teachers.

1971

There are still the charges from the 1970 teachers strike which the prosecutors are trying to force onto the teachers. This will mean further fines and additional jailings, this time to the tune of over $200,000.

It is no accident that these judgements come in the midst of Nixon's Pay Board maneuvers. Teachers across the country have fought against the wage freeze which affected them directly.

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Rahway Rebellion Ends Under Massacre Threat

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Hundreds of prisoners at the Rahway State Prison in New Jersey revolted last Wednesday, taking over the auditorium and two cellblocks and holding the wardens and five others as hostages.

The rebellion lasted over two hours later on the basis of Governor Cahill's verbal promise of no blood and negotia-
tions on the prisoners' de-
mands that state troopers armed with rifles and tear gas stand ready for an at-
tack.

Two days later at the Essex County Jail in Newark prisoners rioted in a solitary confinement cell to free ano-	her inmate and smashed win-
dows.

The uprising that swept Atlantic in which 33 inmates were killed by Rockefeller's troops is spread-
ing to every prison in the coun-
try. The Rahway prisoners spelt out their feelings on a bed-sheet which read "Remember Altica."

The prisoners wrote out 14 demands on a peti-
tion including total amnesty be-
ter food and medical care, the right to parole, an end to bruti-
tality, racism and the use of il-
legal kangaroo courts to punish prisoners.

The prisoners were absolutely nothing. The three conditions of-
tered by Cahill in exchange for an end to the rebellion were 1) no judicial review of the conviction 2) their release as "good time" and 3) negotiations on the prisoners' grievances.

Cahill was strutting around as a hero boasting of his wisdom in settling the rebellion without a shot. Yet he had the prisoners rejected his deal which is precisely what he prepared to do. A Black assemblyman, George Richardson, reported that at the beginning of the revolt Cahill refused to have any discussions with the inmates and made im-
mediate preparations to crush the rebellion by force.

All that Richardson said was to plead with Cahill to allow a ci-
tizens group into the prison to "observe" the assault if it took

place. It was only when Cahill real-
ized he was really isolated and had no strong leader-
ship that he made his offer. A full riot force of state troopers and police were prepared to move in if this didn't work.

Cahill's three point conditions were nothing but a cynical ploy to force the prisoners back to their cells to enable the state to tighten the noose around the inmates' necks. Militants are already being shipped out of the prison to join mental hospitals.

Another rebellion had taken place in 1952. The same pro-
mises were made and nothing was changed.

Rahway shows that Altica was not an isolated incident of bruti-
tality. Rockefeller and Cahill and the entire capitalist class are ready to crush any workers to drown every rebellion by the working class.

The struggle against the condi-
tions of the prisons is not a strug-
gle for labor but a conscious appre-
ception of the working class who are part of the revolt. The Rahway prisoners were beaten and betrayed because they didn't follow the strategy of struggle of the working class, together with the work-
ning class can only go forward with the building of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions which will push the struggle into the youth for the taking of power.

The events at Lake Cliffwood were touched off by a number of ac-
currences: students were denied the right to dance in the cafe-
teria; another student dropped a plate, people started throwing food, overturning tables, chairs and

State troopers enter Rahway State Prison to squash rebellion.

Cops Tear Gas Students

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE—On Friday, Nov. 27, 1970, at Lake Cliff senior High School came into bloody col-
lision with the Baltimorepol-
ice force.

Following several weeks of un-
rest and incidents, the SMOH overcrowded school system, a rebellion was launched on Thursday and continued on Fri-

day at this new school.

After police entered the "disturbance" 20 people had been arrested, and several students in-
jured in the scuffle between the police on one side and students joined by community residents on the other.

The incidents at Lake Cliffwood were touched off by a number of ac-
currences: students were denied the right to dance in the cafe-
teria; another student dropped a plate, people started throwing food, overturning tables, chairs and

Farinas Petitions Supreme Court

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

NEW YORK, Nov. 27—Today, Sanford Katz, on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, submitted to the Supreme Court the petition for review of the decision taken against Juan Farinas.

Juan Farinas, aGreetings to the Teachers of Rahway School System, unable to meet its payroll for the first time since 1937 when it paid teachers with script, has as-
ked teachers to work without pay until January 1972.

The response of teachers and custodians to this attack has been—"No pay, no work."

Late last school year, the Rahay school board sought drastic cuts in teachers' wages and working conditions.

The attack on the teachers was beaten back by a solid strike which forced the board to re-
cind the cuts.

But the economic crisis has deepened since last May and the City has been encouraged by Nixon's Phase II to attack the teachers.

The school board's solution is to make the teachers and custo-
dians pay for the crisis by work-
ing without pay or tremendous, they are demanding that they be reduced to slaves.

The board is also prepping a 10% reduction in personnel, up to 350 or 400 and a 1% increase in class size for next year.

But it is an open attempt to bust the Gary Teachers Union Local 4, AFT and Local 208 Building Service Employees Union.
NY Tel Ranks Determined
To Win Strike

BY DANNY FRIED
Several thousand members of CWA (Communications Workers of America) Local 1011, which has been on strike against the New York Telephone Company for more than 20 weeks, turned out for a mass meeting here.
Local 1011 represents 22,000 out of the 40,000 installers, represented by the CWA, employed by "Ma Bell." These demands were met, ex-
jected the national agreement. They felt that wages was the key issue. Wages was key, the unions explained, because the cost of living was considerably higher in New York than in many parts of the country. This problem was so severe during the so-called Phase I period of the wage freeze in 1971, that they were even twice as much as the national average. New Yorkers still face an amortization of retirement accounts and an increase of $1.50 in rent control prices after January 1.

The question of vacations was also brought up. The national agreement, the men said, provided for a 3-week vacation only after 10 years and 4 weeks after 11 years of employment. The current meetings are expected to end in 3 weeks after 5 years and 4 weeks after 10 years of employment.

Another issue raised was the question of transfers, affecting 3,000 workers who have unsuccessfully applied for transfers and have been kept waiting for years. Typical of the situa-
tion, these men, mostly older workers, face the fact that their union leaders kept promising them a job in the city, at an exorbitant cost.

Carnivale stated that the telephone company was hiding behind the wage freeze and Phase II, but it could no longer do so. He cited as precedents the union's favor, recent rulings of the Pay Board on the coal miner's 15% cap with 12,000 workers laid off. The layoffs began after the union's threat of a strike in April. The Carnivale refused to comment on the "right to work" issue.

There is a real need to conserve productivity so that we can get back in the black. The unions have been told that the telephone company is doing nothing to prevent the two-week closing. They are going along with the steel bosses in their attempt to demoralize and scatter the steelworkers. This is in preparation for the complete crushing of the union, and the final closing of Garver's works.

The full impact of the union's struggle against the "right to work" law is revealed more sharply every day. Garver's works is not isolated, even though it has been set up spec-
ally. It has actually been set up to be a "showpiece" of the "right to work" law.

BY MARK ALEXIS
GARY, IND.—A complete victory for the U.S. Steel Cor-
poration's huge Gary works appears likely in late De-
ember and will last for at least two weeks, according to the management.

Since August the plant has been operating at 50% capacity, with 12,000 workers laid off. The layoffs began after the union's threat of a strike in April. The strike is now being prepared for the complete crushing of the union, and the final closing of Garver's works.

The full impact of the union's struggle against the "right to work" law is revealed more sharply every day. Garver's works is not isolated, even though it has been set up spec-
ally. It has actually been set up to be a "showpiece" of the "right to work" law.
Longshoremen's Rights Versus Bosses Profits

President Nixon, acting in the interests of the shipping bosses and all the capitalists, has invoked the Taft-Hartley against striking East Coast dockers. The dockers, at this point, lacking a leadership capable of defending them, are bitterly returning to the docks. They will now move as little cargo as possible awaiting the next stage of their struggle against the shipping bosses.

At stake in this battle are issues of principle which are central to all workers. The full out effort of the stevedoring firms to break the guarantee and hold down wages with the aid of Nixon amounts to an attempt to destroy trade unionism on the docks and eventually reduce the work force to 10% of what it is today. They carry out this attempt while at the same time Nixon is seeking to break the labor movement as a whole. If the bosses win this battle, we will witness a never-ending crisis of mass unemployment, of fascism. We will not allow them to succeed.

The history of longshore is a capsule history of American labor—its great power, its intolerable weaknesses. For a long period longshoremen were dominated by the bosses and the corruptly controlled by patrimonialism, infiltrated by gangsters, intimately tied to the Tammany Hall machine of the Democratic Party. Faced with this, rank and file longshoremen developed their own leadership independent of the bureaucracy and year after year conducted wildcat actions.

Finding the techniques of corruption and gangsterism ineffective the capitalists then launched a new tactic. Claiming to be fighting corruption they brought it about in government regulations in the form of the Waterfront Commission. The gangsters remained but now rank and file workers faced closer government control and harassment.

All this was but a preparation for the critical stage of containerization. The aim now was to wipe out most docks and replace them by the container, the union in order to do this, and reaping in huge profits for the owners in the process. But they could not do this all at once. First the principle of containerization had to be established. To achieve this the bosses were forced to grant a guarantee in hours worked at least to a section of the dockers.

But the purpose of containerization is to wipe out the mass of workers on the docks. The guarantee provided was the gate key to the future of the dockers as wage slaves. This is why when Scotty of Brooklyn Local 1814 says: "We don't want to kill the companies that employ us—we are interested in the future of the dockers as wage slaves."

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The rest of Frank's remarks are actually a defense of the empirical anti-Marxist method of Pablosism. He counterposes it to the concern with Pablosism's "striving to understand events as they are." By this he means reaching with one's impressions of surface events independent of the principles which have been historically derived through the long struggle by the Marxist movement. It is this method which led Pablo to adapt to Stalinism in 1935, to petty bourgeois nationalism in the late 50's and early 60's, and which today leads the SWP to adapt to middle class radicalism in the form of "new radicalism."

The real revisionist meaning of Frank's method is then illustrated by the joint statement of the National Committee Leaders: "They clung to every letter, every word, every comma of the Transitional Program." Which letter, which word, which comma? Do you wish to abandon, Mr. Frank? We hold that the whole transitional period of Pablo was not written not just for the 1930's but for the epoch of revolution we are presently entering. It is not just an historical document but our central guide to action now. Yes, we cling to all our might to it and to Marxism, seeking to bring the great theoretical capital developed in the Marxist movement, defended against revisionism, into the new struggles of the working class today. We see far from being a "mere repetition of formulas," the real theoretical fight today to build Trotskyist parties.

In the course of telling us how much he agrees with us on Lamber, Frank insists that it is not true that Moscoso agrees with Lora on fundamentals: "...really chose to lie outright when we said that the 'International Party'—meaning the Trotskyists—called the CORP-Gonzalez in Bolivia—had the same policy towards the Torres government as Lora had." Frank is sparse on evidence on this point because it has just been announced that Lora's CORP and Moscoso's(Gonzalez) CORP have joined in a common formation with Torres.

The truth is that all these various factions and splinters stand not for fundamentals because they do not proceed from the principle struggle against revisionism to the struggle today to construct Trotskyist parties under the conditions of deepening international crisis of capitalism. These discussions with each other are superficial, tactical, and themselves a result of the disintegrative character of the petty bourgeois policies upon which they are based. The contradictions between us are fundamental because they involve the rejection of the Marxist method and the fight for the Transitional Program.

Moscoso supported guerilla warfare and petty bourgeois adventures while Lora conducted opportunistic activity in the trade unionism. Neither took up an independent fight for the Transitional Program against Stalinism on the basis of international perspectives. Now with Castro's trip to Chile all the squabbles come together. In Uruguay the guerillas—the Tupamaros—openly are supported by the Popular Front police operation modelled after Allende's government in Chile. In Brazil and Mexico Moscoso and Lora unite with Torres. The SWP maintains silence on where it stands on Lora and on Castro's attempt to come to terms with American imperialism through Chile.

We, however, will cling to the letters, the words and even the comings of Marxism against those who seek to jettison Trotskyism just at the moment when development internationally now make it possible to build mass parties on the basis of the Transitional Program. We will build an important step toward building such parties. In this period, December 18th when we held our first revolutionary youth conference. This conference will be built with the understanding that the "appropriate answers" to the "new problems" posed by Nixon's August 15th declaration of "war" on the working class are to be found only in the Transitional Program and that the fight for this program has been prepared for through the International Committee's preoccupation with Pablosism.
THE THIRD CONFERENCE of the Interna-
tional Committee of the Fourth International
passed a special resolution entitled "Tasks of
our Movement." Its sixteenth and concluding paragraph stated:
"The International Committee will appoint a
special commission immediately to prepare a
history of the Fourth International."1

In the Fall of 1971 the Workers League organized
a series of weekend schools throughout the country
dedicated to a history of the Fourth International. These articles are
based on the teachings given at these schools, though
additional material has been added. The first is
written by Lucy St. John and the other two by Tim Wohlfirth.

While in no sense being a definitive history of the
Fourth International, the purpose of these articles is to
turn the attention of young revolutionaries in the direc-
tion of an historical effort - an effort that will
be the product of an intense struggle from 1961 until today
to construct the revolutionary party in the United States
in a bitter battle against revisionism. At each step in
this struggle the Workers League learned that only
through the international struggle for the Fourth Interna-
tional could a breakthrough be made with American pragmal-
ism and Stalinism.

This is what made it necessary for Trotsky
ism to come forward with the call for a
new International. The formation of the Fourth
International became a historic necessity if the
continuity of the Marxist movement was to be
preserved and a leadership and program built for
the next revolutionary revival.

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International
was held on September 3, 1938 "somewhere in Switzerland."
The conference was attended by 122 delegates representing
organizations from eleven countries includ-
ing the United States, Great Britain, France,
Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Poland,
Belgium, Holland, Greece and Latin America.
The conference met under the shadow of Munich
and on the eve of the Second World War in the dark days of
the witchhunt by the imperialists and their Stalinist
agents against those who continued the fight for
Bolshevism.

FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The delegates consisted of a small village outside
of Paris. But this could not be announced publicly as
Stalin's secret police waited to destroy it and its
participants. The conference was held in one plenary
session which lasted a day without a break. Leon
Trotsky himself was unable to attend, forced to
exile in Mexico. In January of the same year Trotsky's son and
one of his closest friends, Leon Sedov, was mur-
dered by Stalin's police in a French hospital. In July
the organizing secretary of the first conference of the
Fourth International, Rudolph Klein, was
kidnapped and murdered by Stalin's agents. With him went
the last word of the innumerable Trotskyist
movements in the various countries, the draft statutes of
the Fourth International and other documents.

The founding conference paid tribute to the heroes
and martyrs who died at the hands of the imperi-
alsists and the Stalinists... In the Soviet Union, India,
Brazil, Greece, Germany, Austria, Poland, Spain, and
China, Trotskyists had been hounded, thrown into prison,
tortured, and murdered.

The International, thus deprived of its
strength and its charm, without Trotsky's
safety belt of leadership and program, was
now faced with the basic decision of its
existence. It was forced to make a
choice between the strategic and the
theoretical implications of its
decision.

On August 15th, 1971 President Nixon announced his
economic policies. These policies mean that the
struggle between the working classes in every country of
the world can no longer be postponed. Nixon has declared
his intention of driving down European capitalistic
forces in turn to carry us over to his own version of
national capitalism. At the same time Nixon is forced into a
fundamental struggle with the American working class.
The deepest impact of the August 15th decisions upon
the consciousness of the American working class has been
among the youth. Working class youth in particular
and minority youth, have been born under conditions of
ghetto rebellions, have grown up knowing only the Vietnam
War and the shoot-outs with the Panthers, and today come
to the revolutionary movement at a time when the bankrupt-
cy of the American reformists can no longer be hidden
and Nixon's August 15th decisions shape the thinking
and planning of all classes. This is not a conservative generation.
It has been nurtured by crisis and impending crisis, by the
breakup of the boom, not by its successful development.

The Workers League sees the heart of the task
posed after August 15th the taking into the new genera-
tion of revolutionaries. The theoretical understanding de-
veloped through the historic struggle to construct the
Fourth International under conditions of great adversity.
Theory, developed in this way, taken up by youth, will
make it possible for the revolutionary party to develop
causes and an overwhelming majority against the crisis
which is in basic industry like steel and auto.

The Fourth International was founded in a
different period than we face today. It was
a time in which the working class had suffered a
series of terrible defeats and was being
drawn into a new war. This situation was
brought about by the betrayals of Social Demo-
cracy and Stalinism.

This is what made it necessary for Trotsky
ism to come forward with the call for a
new International. The formation of the Fourth
International became a historic necessity if the
continuity of the Marxist movement was to be
preserved and a leadership and program built for
the next revolutionary revival.

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International
was held on September 3, 1938 "somewhere in Switzerland."
The conference was attended by 122 delegates representing
organizations from eleven countries includ-
ing the United States, Great Britain, France,
Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Poland,
Belgium, Holland, Greece and Latin America.
The conference met under the shadow of Munich
and on the eve of the Second World War in the dark days of
the witchhunt by the imperialists and their Stalinist
agents against those who continued the fight for
Bolshevism.

FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The delegates consisted of a small village outside
of Paris. But this could not be announced publicly as
Stalin's secret police waited to destroy it and its
participants. The conference was held in one plenary
session which lasted a day without a break. Leon
Trotsky himself was unable to attend, forced to
exile in Mexico. In January of the same year Trotsky's son and
one of his closest friends, Leon Sedov, was mur-
dered by Stalin's police in a French hospital. In July
the organizing secretary of the first conference of the
Fourth International, Rudolph Klein, was
kidnapped and murdered by Stalin's agents. With him went
the last word of the innumerable Trotskyist
movements in the various countries, the draft statutes of
the Fourth International and other documents.

The founding conference paid tribute to the heroes
and martyrs who died at the hands of the imperi-
alsists and the Stalinists... In the Soviet Union, India,
Brazil, Greece, Germany, Austria, Poland, Spain, and
China, Trotskyists had been hounded, thrown into prison,
tortured, and murdered.

The "International" dips its stainless flag in
salute over the four million of working-class comrades
who during the last two years have fallen under the
bullets of Franco in Spain; under the axe or in the
concentration camps of Hitler, in Germany and in Austria; in
the prison and prison-islands of Metaxas and Vargias, in
Greece and Brazil; under the blows of the Bonapartist
dictatorships in Poland, in China, etc., under the Stalinist
bullets and tortures in the U.S.S.R., in Spain, in China,
Switzerland and in France...

"None of these repressions, these tortures, these
assassinations, shall stop us, for our task is laid out
for us by history, and not by the activities of police or
of slate terror-machines, no matter how powerful and
totalitarian.

"Today's sacrifice is tomorrow's guarantee of
liberty. The conscious and self-sacrificing workers
under the banner of the Fourth International, will avenge
the comrades who have fallen, and snatch from their
prisons those who languish there."2

The conference adopted the Transitional Program
written by Trotsky. The program represents the most
powerful guide to the building of a revolutionary lead-
ership since the Communist Manifesto.

The Fourth International was only able to formulate
the basic principles of revolutionary strategy and could
to that extent treat them partially in the
experience of the working class. In the initial years of the Fourth
International the parties were built but the strategic task disappeared.

The development of theory was subordinated to the day-
to-day struggles with its partial tactics.

It was the Third International in its first four con-
gress which elaborated the main principles of revolu-
tionary strategy. The basic principles of this strategy were elaborated
in the manifestos and documents of the first four congresses. But before Lenin's death a
basic programmatic document had not been drawn up
by the International Working Committee of the
program and principles of the Communist Inte-
rational nor liquidated.

The Transitional Program brought forward all the
understanding developed in the October Revolution and
to the first five years of the Communist International,
besides defended in a bitter struggle against Stalinism and the
Social Democracy. The Transitional Program was a
in the struggle for the Fourth International and its theoretical
and the theoretical, and the experience of
the working class, its defeats as well as its vic-
tories. The cadre were few and isolated by the defeats of the
working class. This was expressed in the very
conditions under which the conference met. But the founding
of the Fourth International and the adoption of the Transitional
Program was an expression of the crisis of leadership in the
working class. This could only now be resolved for the
whole revolutionary wave by the construction of a new International.

In his message to the conference Trotsky wrote of this
"The acceptance of this program, prepared for and
assured by a temporary working committee on the
whole, series of discussions, represents our most
capital conquest. The Fourth International is now the only
international organization which not only takes
clearly into account the driving forces of the imperial-
ism epoch but brings to a logical conclusion of the
international demands which are capable of uniting the masses for
a revolutionary struggle for power. We do not need
driver of their epoch is working in our
favor. Brought to the extreme pitch of exasperation
and indignation the masses will find no other
leadership than that offered them by the Fourth Interna-
tional."3

The Fourth International is not founded like a
cooperative but is created through struggle. This is what char-
acterizes the whole fight for the Fourth International
and expressed the struggle of hostile class forces in
a period of great adversity. The struggle to build a
new party of the Fourth International was concerned at
each point with the relationship between the critical
inguage of world capitalism and the theoretical
and practical crisis of the Marxist movement.

LEFT OPPOSITION

The pre-history of the Fourth International can be
divided into three periods. In the first period, the
periods and the Left Opposition fought inside the
Bolshevik Party and the Third International
basing their fight on the
theoretical issues of the Third International. The Left Opposition viewed itself as a Marxist faction
and fought for this with all its might. They began with
the critical importance of the issues at
strike in the, a center of Leninism in the Soviet Union and the fate of the
first
our historic role as a faction. We do no demand... that the revolutionary proletariat should believe us on trust. We assert ourselves a more modest role: we offer our assistance to the Communist vanguard in the elaboration of the correct line. For this work we are gathering and training our own cadres. This stage of preparation cannot be jumped over. Every new stage of struggle will push to our side those in the pro-
lerati who think the most and are the most critical...

"...The successes of the Opposition in every country, Germany included are indisputable and manifest, but they are developing slower than many of us expected. We may regret this, but we need not be surprised at it. Every Communist who begins to listen to the Left Opposition is cynically given the choice by the bureaucracy, either to be banished from the Party and desert to the Trotskyism or else be kicked out of the ranks of the Comintern. For the party official, it is a question of position and the scales of fascism that appear to him the key to perfection. But immeasurably more important are the thousands of thousands of Communists who are torn between their devotion to the ideas of Communism and the threatened expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. That is why there are in the ranks of the official Communist Party a great number of partial, intimidated or concealed Oppositionists." (5)

GERMANY: THE TURNING POINT

Trotsky wrote these words as he fought to turn the Communist International from the disastrous policies of the Third Period that the Kremlen forced onto the German Communist Party. By attacking the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and by failing to defend the policies of the Fourth International, the German Communist Party allowed the Social Democrats to

Trotsky Reiterates Mission of the Fourth International

avoid any united struggle against fascism and thus paralyzed the working class.

Trotsky warned at every point of the dangers of the Hitler movement, analyzing the social roots of fac-

Threatening of the International, movement of the German Communist Party.

Germany was now the key to the international sit-

uation. It was the crushing defeat of the German working class and the victory of fascism that was for Trotsky decisive internationally and historical significance. The fact that the Kremlen had not the German CP faithfully implemented during these critical years, had been completely powerless in the face of fascism proved beyond any doubt that the Communist International, as founded by Lenin in 1919, was now dead as an instrument of world revolution. In Germany it had become the main agency of world counterrevolution.

A year earlier Trotsky had warned: "Yes, should the fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist Party, but horrible political bankruptcy for it. An ignominious defeat in a struggle against the forces of imperialism will never be forgiven by the Communist International and its German section by the many millioned German proletariat. The seizure of power by fascists would therefore mean most probably the signification of necessity of creating a new revolutionary Party, and all likelihood of a new International." (4) In 1933 Trotsky and the Opposition had followed the policy of working to reform the Communist In-

ternational. By overthrowing the C.I.'s power in Ger-

many by the fascists, the Opposition joined in the International Communist League composed primarily of those revolutionists that were expelled from the propaganda circle existence.

The cadre and small organizations which had rallied to the Left Opposition and the International Communist League grew through individual selection in the process of theoretical criticism and were practically outside of the labor movement itself. As early as 1933 they were unsupported, independent activities. The second period before the founding of the Fourth International was characterized by efforts to find a real political milieu for those isolated propaganda groups, even at the price of a temporary loss of formal independence. Among all Trotsky found it necessary to explain the degeneration of the Soviet Union. This required not only a defense of the principles of Marxism but a development of Marxism in order to explain the new phenomena. In the Resolution Betrayed, Trotsky analyzed the origins and significance of the Soviet Union. He began with the need to defend the first workers state and the gains of October.

Trotsky designated the new ruling stratum in the Soviet Union, a bureaucracy which included officials in the state, economy and party who enjoyed a privi-

lege over the workers. The economic basis of the bureaucracy remained the nationalized property which had been established by the victory of the working class in the October Revolution. The bureaucracy had arisen from the working class and had usurped its political power in its name. Trotsky regarded the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, and called for the overthrow of the bureaucracy through political revolution. This was the only sure defense of the Soviet Union and the gains of October.

The economic introduction to the Revolution Betrayed:

"The purpose of the present investigation is to es-
iminate the fact that is, in order to better under-

December 6, 1971
The period from 1933 to 1938 was a very difficult one in which Trotsky fought to prepare for the founding of the Fourth International. In the Third International, there could be no revolutionary future for the working class. It was essential to prepare for the next upsurge and destroy Stalinism.

The period from 1933 to 1938 was a very difficult one in which Trotsky fought to prepare for the founding of the Fourth International Systemically, theoretically and practically. As essentially any point the small cadres were turned to the mass movement, seeking to root the cadre as much as possible in the class and develop it theoretically through the struggle and the fight against Stalinism. Only through a constant struggle for an understanding of the experiences of the working class by an active participation in the class and the building of the revolutionary party could there be development.

The struggle to build the Fourth International now demanded a new set of conditions. The conditions of the Moscow Trials in Stalin liquidated almost the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party and sent his secret police out to hunt down all those who fought to continue Lenin's struggle. The Stalinist controlled Third International turned from the "ultra-left" policies of the Third Period to the opportunist Popular Front under which the Communist Parties tied the working class to the bourgeois and delivered it up to the fascists in Spain and in France and which spurred counterrevolution through their defeat of Trotsky and the Bolsheviks.

Trotsky and the Bolsheviks fought for an alternative perspective for the working class against Stalinism and the Social Democrats.

Trotzky in this period sought out a struggle with the centrist forces which grouped themselves around the London Bureau. The Moscow Bureau was made up of various groups which had split from the Socialist or Communist Parties. Some of them signed the initial call for the Fourth International. These organizations sought to find a middle of the road between revolution and reform, between Trotskyism and Stalinism. Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists proposed that they review with them the basic strategic problems of the epoch and determine their attitude to the programmatic documents of the Fourth International.

In a conference in 1933 these groups refused to take a stand for the Fourth International. The Independent Labour Party, the British Communist Party, the centrist. While it admitted that there was no longer a proletarian international, they hesitated at building a new one. According to the leadership of the ILP the International would develop after the development of national political organizations the "historical process" would "produce something some day.

As Trotsky pointed out it was the task of Marxists to be ahead of the "historical process." The construction of the revolutionary party would not flow automatically on the class struggle but only through a conscious struggle in the working class against Stalinism and bourgeois ideology. The ILP's contention that the immediate task was to construct "national parties" was a caricature of the whole history of the Second International.

"Without a Marxist International," said Trotsky, "national organizations even the most advanced, are doomed to narrowness, vacillation and helplessness; the advanced workers are forced to feed upon surrogates for Internationalism." (6) The ILP's call for "revolutionary socialist unity" served as a call for its opposition to the Fourth International and as a road to the Communist Party in England and the Comintern. Middle of its road centrist parties were really a capitulation of Stalinism and its policy of the Popular Front. The centrist counterpoised the "revolutionary socialist unity" and a "United Front" as a substitute for the construction of the revolutionary party and a new International.

The French front

On the other side of the same coin were the sectarian positions that were the most opposition to the founding of the Fourth International. Its expression in its resistance was turning the cadre from a propaganda circle existence, under which they had been for forced to exist since 1928 to mass work and contact with the living movement of the workers. The sectarians resisted the penetration and the organization. The the implementation of what was called the "French Front." (7)

The "French Front" was an attempt by the entry tactic into the social democratic parties and the Socialist Party was elaborated by Trotsky in 1934 in order to try and win over to the Fourth International the left centrist layers of those parties hugging between Stalinism and Trotskyism. It saw it as a tactic and not a principle, a temporary measure which was necessary in this period in order to fight the right wing and win over members to the Fourth International.

In 1934 the French Bolshevik-Leninists entered the SFIO (Socialist Party). Through the entry the French Trotskyists were able to enter over important forces particularly from the youth as well as to establish contact with the organized workers. This turn was opposed both within the parties fighting to build the Fourth International and its sympathizers. It expressed a hostility to breaking out of the propaganda circle and beginning to build parties rooted in the working class.

Within the American party which had recently fused with the American Workers Party, there grew up a group around a man named Olehler. Olehler began by repudiating the entry of the French comrades into the SFIO and later opposed the entry of the American party into the Socialist Party. Olehler refused to draw the lessons from the actual experience of the French movement. Olehler simply contended that to enter any section of the Second International was a "betrayal of principles." "Isn't it one of the principles of Marxism that the party must act on the basis of the unconditional independence of the revolutionary party at all times and under every circumstance?"

Olehler sought to liquidate the movement into abstract propaganda and refused to intervene in the actual struggle of the working class. Olehler's opposition was in fact based on a rejection of Marxist principles. He substituted formulations for the development of theory and the use of a technique for the circle of the construction of a revolutionary party.

The leadership of the American party, Trotsky said of Olehler: "Does comrade Olehler not know those facts (the development of the Fourth Movement-L.S.)? Is he deliberately closing his eyes, so that his feet may remain intact? What does such a dangerous attitude signify? No, we have something in common with Marxism, which is not a game, but an analysis of realities. It would appear that Olehler does not wish revolutionary successes because they have arrived by the means which he opposed. Let the revolution perish as long as Olehler's prejudices triumph...we do not yet have revolutionary policies, but we are waiting for the increase in the confidence of the masses. It is a question of building such parties and to succeed it is necessary to apply the method which corrects the erroneous political and social conditions and not to supra-historical formulas."

"Each sectarian," Trotsky wrote, "wants to have his own labor movement. By the repetition of magical formulas one thinks that he can build up a group itself around him. But instead of bewildering the prolectoletary masses he always ends up deforming and dispersing his own little cell." (8)

Behind Olehler's sectarian position was his opportunism. He opposed having the entry tactic as an open letter which was circulated for the founding of the French Communist Party and a new International as a centrist party. Olehler's tactics were like the German SAP which was bitterly opposed to the Fourth International.

The sectarians were a disorderly and decadent type of Stalinism in Spain. The young Socialist movement in Spain, which on the one hand announced its support to the idea of the Fourth International, was neglected by those who associated themselves with Trotskyism, like Andres Nin. They opposed any kind of maneuver in the direction of the young Socialists. They were satisfied with reciting the ritual of the split between the Socialist Democracy and the Comintern in 1934-1939. The result was that the Socialists cut right ahead of them, took over this youth organization and made it into an appendage of Stalinism. This contributed greatly to the defeat of the Spanish revolution.

The sectarians and the centrists ended up together in their hostility to the Third International. The sectarians turned to opportunism. Both tendencies reflected the capitulation of middle class forces to Stalinism and imperialism. Sectarianism and opportunism are both polar opposites. The centrist abhors precise formulations and seeks retreats into a tangle of theory. The formulas of the sectarians are detached from life and abject. Living reality cannot be grasped without forming clear-cut principles.

The centrist tries to create the working class and construct the revolutionary party. Both the centrist and the sectarian end up together in their hatred of Marxism.

This period tested the cadre and their ideas for the first time. The Front was faced with this kind of struggle and its living requirements. The cadres developed out of this experience. What was the fact, as Trotsky put it, "we parted company with incorrigible sectarianists, meddlers and tricksters who are won to join every new movement in the beginning only to do all in their power to compromise and paralyse it." (9)

When the Decision was made to call the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, a sharp line was drawn with this period. The lesson from this whole struggle was: that, outside the cadres now standing on the firm foundation of the Fourth International, there was a single revolutionary element.

The creation of the Socialist Workers Party, in particular, was a turning point in this second period. The Fourth International now stood face to face with the tasks of the mass movement and the construction of a revolutionary leadership to solve the crisis of leadership in the working class for the next upsurge.

Middle class sectics

The period from 1939 to 1938 has been used by the enemies of Trotskyism to turn Trotsky into a harmless man and above all to attack the construction of the revolutionary party. This is the role played by Isaac Deutscher who has been leading as a leading theoretician of the revolutionary movement has written three volumes on Trotsky's life and has had an impact on many who have learned nothing from Trotsky. He expresses all the secticism of the middle class about the working class and its ability of man through Communist Party to consciously change society.

The point of Trotsky's life to be his leadership of the Red Army, rather than the real crowning achievement of his life—the foundation of the Fourth International and its task to construct and to the construction of the Fourth International and its task to construct and to protect this leadership of the Army, to advocate this. This is expressed in the vivid titles of his trilogy on Trotsky: "The Prophet Armed (1938-1939)" and "The Prophet Outcast (2029-1940)." For Deutscher, Trotsky was a tragic hero, a prophet defeated by the "reality of events" (which is the result of political design). Trotsky is abstracted from the class struggle which he lived and the life, the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

For the rise of Stalinism was inevitable. In other words Deutscher informs us after the fact, that what happened, happened. This is objectively reducing the theory of history to empiricism, and to accepting
Trotsky with attorney Albert Goldman on his right, his wife Natalia to his left and other collaborators prepare defense to be brought before Dewey Commission on Moscow Trials.

This means: every idea that corresponds to objective conditions for development attains strength and victory. Noetically honest individual can deny that the analysis and prognosis made by the Bolshevik-Leninists during the last 15 years have met and still meet with confirmation in the events of the present time. The certainty of their correctness that the basic sections of the Fourth International are strong and immutable. The waves that break over a sure edifice which are overflowing mankind will clear the path before the steadied cadres of the revolutionary Marxists.

"Let the disillusioned ones bury their own dead. The working class is not a corpse. As hilberto, society rests upon it. It is a new leadership. Still find this nowhere but in the Fourth International. All that is rational is real. Social democracy and Stalinism even today represent stupendous fictions. But the Fourth International is an impregnable reality." (II)

At the same time, Lenin and Trotsky's position on the continuity of the Marxist movement. Deutscher was a member of the Fourth International and was in fact responsible for the opposition put up by the Polish delegates against its foundation at the Founding Congress. His perspective becomes a defense of the position of the middle class radical outside the Fourth International and against the revolutionary parties.

In a similar way the opposition tendency around David Fender... the SWP's position in the recent convention, based its perspective on an attack on the continuity of the Fourth International.

Fender seeks to trace the degeneration of the SWP back to the Fourth International itself, completely abstracting from the historical development and struggles of the International. Fender in his document "Historical Roots of the Degeneration of the Fourth International and Of the Centrism of the SWP" counsors the "genius" of Trotsky to the Trotskyists and an "American junkyard." Of the period preceding the actual founding of the Fourth International, Fender states:

"The International Left Opposition while containing communists with outstanding revolutionary credentials and abilities was, nevertheless, in most countries—especially in Europe, and in particular in France, the center of the Left Opposition—primarily petty bourgeois in composition. The lack of any working class base combined with the increasing political confusion and isolation from the working class, led to constant infighting with many of the outstanding middle class deserting the Opposition for 'greener pastures.' Much of the infighting was over organizational and ideological questions rather than over concrete political issues. Trotsky fought hard to straighten out the disputes, especially in France where he achieved success." (II)

The report detailed facts of that new impulses for revolution would come from the West but not from the Soviet Union was the leitmotif of Trotsky’s advocacy of the Fourth International in the years immediately following its founding in the Soviet Union Stalinism continued to play a dual role, attimes progressive and retrograde, it exercised internationally of the counter revolutionary influence. Here his grasp of reality failed him, Stalinism was to go on acting its dual role internationally as well as nationally: it was to stimulate as well as to obstruct the class struggle outside the Soviet Union. In any case, it was not from the West that new impulses to come in the next three or four decades. The basis for the survival of the Stalinist bureaucracy on which Trotsky set out to create the Fourth International was unreal." (II)

The decision made the Foundation of the Fourth International a momentous one. Stalinism had become the main source of counter revolution. But Deutscher thinks differently. For Deutscher Stalinism is "able to stimulate" revolutionary struggle. The primary reason why "revolutionary impulses" did not come from the West in the next decades was because of the betrayals and counter revolutionary policies of Stalinism.

Deutscher accepts the "reality" of Stalinism. He completely denies the central role of consciousness in this reality. For Deutscher, Trotsky's ideas were correct and prophetic but could not change the course of events. Thus, he is the "author" of the preparation for the future but an apologist for the Stalinist justification for Stalinism. In this sense, "intellectuals and Radicals and World Torts," Trotsky answered skeptics like Deutscher:

"Negot was fond of saying: all that is rational is real. This means: every idea that corresponds to objective conditions for development attains strength and victory. Noetically honest individual can deny that the analysis and prognosis made by the Bolshevik-Leninists during the last 15 years have met and still meet with confirmation in the events of the present time. The certainty of their correctness that the basic sections of the Fourth International are strong and immutable. The waves that break over a sure edifice which are overflowing mankind will clear the path before the steadied cadres of the revolutionary Marxists.

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Voices Of Tomorrow

VOICES OF TOMORROW: The 24th Congress of the CPSU, held in a period marked by the documentary weight of the process of détente, represented an important stage on the road to the recovery of the consequences of Wolswald's policies. The CPSU, which ran five hours, Brezhnev delivered a speech in which he presented the policy of the Soviet Union as a national unity of the international community, emphasizing the "anti-colonial" character of the regimes of Bolivia and Sudan—mention, this is written last as of course, the President of the Soviet Union, with whom he is directly engaged in a struggle against imperialism in the revolutionary democratic parties, many of which have proclaimed socialism as their goal." Brezhnev then opened his program by declaring (in a direct quote): "The CPSU is prepared to develop an operation with the Social Democrats both for a new era of peace, freedom, and in the struggle for socialism, without, of course, making any concessions in ideology or revolutionary principles. However, this line of the Communists has been meeting with steadfast resistance from the Right-wing leaders of the Social Demo-

"The resistance of the Right Social Democrats, according to Brezhnev, is the main reason for the working class to tie itself to the elusive Left Social Democrats. Brezhnev is preparing to reveal the political consequences of the 1930s more clearly than those of the first 1930s. With his deliberate plan to mislead the working class, the CPSU merely piles more of the dirt of falsi-

ty and deception on the heads of those who perished during the 1930s and 1940s.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko echoed Brezhnev's remarks. "Like his superior, Gromyko often ex-

One of the outstanding figures in contemporary Polish music is the young composer Krzysztof Penderecki who at thirty-eight already has an international reputation as the artistic spokesman of his generation. He is much better known in the West than the great Polish composer Wladyslaw Kessling, to whom Penderecki's elder, who had the courage to resist both Fascism and Stalinism, makes an attempt to stifl-

The new generation can advance today because it is characterized by a less rigid, more flexible style, with a new emphasis on impetus, characteristic of the contemporary Polish music. The dominant characteristic of the music is the constantly increasing and dominating baroque/ classical style of Polish music in order to create a new atmosphere.

Penderecki's major contribution lies in his experiment with expressive possibilities of sound, especially the sonorities of a stringed instrument. He has based his work on the various sounds of the human voice. His music is characterized by the exploitation of musical techniques which are explicit religious pieces developed whole sec-

tions of complex bands and blocks of sound in which he explores the different forms of psalmody, plainsong and Gregorian chant. Penderecki sees salvation in the past, in a return to the medieval function of music as an expression of religious subjugation to the greater power of God.

Utreria

One of the outstanding figures in contemporary Polish music is the young composer Krzysztof Penderecki who at thirty-eight already has an international reputation as the artistic spokesman of his generation. He is much better known in the West than the great Polish composer Witold Lutoslawski, the already well-known composer, who in turn, has already achieved great success in the international music world.

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CWA

(Continued From Page 5)
called good contract.
Carnival stated that the 23
locals in New York State were
sticking together and would win
in opposition to the company’s
determination to “get tough and
conquer” to break the union.
“That’s NOT going to happen,”
hed claimed, as wild cheers from
the crowd filled the hall and the
men took up a rhythmic chant,
“Ma Bell, Go To Hell.” Carni-
val said that as for the scabs,
“We’ll get ‘em, and when we do
they’ll be made to pay back
everybody.”

Underneath his militancy, Carni-
vale was obviously afraid of the
rank and file, and tried to
attempt to adjourn the meeting
without discussion immediately after
his talk, and again later on. Both
movements for adjournment were
turned down by a large majority.
Carnival was only able to end
the meeting on the basis that the
time allotted for the reading of the
haul (the Felt Forum at Madi-
son Square Garden) was about to
 expire. Even then, many mem-
 bers were still trying to get the
floor.

One of the first men to get the
floor was an attorney from southern
Michigan who said: “I only have two words I want to
say to you, Mr. Beirne.” Beirne,
the CWA President, was reduced
to silence by the meeting for his
sellout of the New York locals.
In his charge for the treachery of the International leadership
demoed by the company’s position in
response to the question from
the floor, “Why can’t the Interna-
tional not issue a strike call 90 days
from now to all the locals not on strike,” the
IoC General Counsel, Charles
Buckner attempted to explain,
and in a Thompson Center of
Chicago, to the news media.
The New York Labor Council at
least one of the staff critics for
writing to Red.

This is a special event of the
CWA itself where technical
necessity forced the New York for installation
and repairs.

Another speaker said that
he had listened to Mr. Beirne
after the national agreement
was reached and presented to the
membership and that “I
distinctly heard him say that if ONE
local stays out, then ALL stay out.
I don’t think it’s right for a man to go on TV and lie,
in order to build up profits, but
to the whole striking country.”

Another member tried to
make the point that the Interna-
tional union remove from membership those workers from
whom money has not been
sent into New York, and that
the money that many of their members are transferred into
New York.

To refuse to send the strike
must inevitably confront the Nixon
Administration and it is not possible
to refuse to prepare a struggle against this board is suicide.

The New York Telephonic
strikers now have 30 days to
come to a decision on the 

ILI.

(Continued From Page 3)
in the injunction said simply, “In
the suit for
injunction, the
injunction...”

At the Columbus street
hiring hall in Brooklyn, the response
to the question on Monday was
enthusiastic. Men reacted to the
leaflet with remarks like, “This
is the first time I’ve seen in a
long time...” “These guys are
independent about this.” But the
same time they said that they didn’t
see what they could do with
that leaflet.

The deep resistance to
going back to work was expressed by
the refusal of 11 gangs assigned to
work at Brooklyn Pier 9 to work
at all. The refusal of the
shippers to allow them to park
their cars on the docks as they had
done in the past.

The action and practice of ‘gating’ - blocking
theues for at least two days of guaranteed wage
credit for each alleged infra-
ction of the provisions) by the
shippers and Waterfront
Committee, which attempts by the
employers to harass the men and
undermine the provisions of the
old contract during the “coo-
ling-off” period.

It is quite clear that they are also planning to try to cut their
wages under the provision by im-
iting that men work anywhere
they are sent on a job within the
entire New York-New Jersey
port. This is an attempt to di-
vide the ranks and break up the
union.

They are preparing to “en-
force” this during the 80 days
that the New York Board would
at the strike while they hope to
get a $10 million limit on the
Guards Fund for the port of New
York.

Leadership
The workers are fighting against these plans of the shippers backed
by Nixon on present on all the
dock work. They may in the end
know they need to build a
power of the workers.

At the same dock, the
local leadership was ex-
pressed by the statement of Interna-
tional Vice President Edward Dalton: “We
can’t move until we get orders
from the Boston Shippers As-
sociation. I’m the man the Ship-
per’s Association is to give the
order to go back to work. As
soon as we get the word we go back to
the docks.” But the banks were
not sure. One of them told a
Bulletin reporter, “Now we go
back under the old contract. We
don’t have the money to fight.

The International unions have ben
some of the workers at Port
Seattle working with the ILA to
move without leadership. They say
that the ILA leaders define the
Tall-Hartley, they might be
to jail, saying, “Then what will
happen to the job and the men
do without a leadership?” We
would have to have some kind of
leaders and organization.”

Program
It is on this basis of the very
need that the Workers League is
fighting to build an alternative
leadership in Seattle and to

CASTRO

(Continued From Page 2)
Salvador Allende has chosen to intervene in the Cuban stamp of approval on the poli-
cies of his ruling Popular Unity coalition.

The rest of Thorsteds’ arti-
icle is devoted to Allende’s at-
tempt to deal with the finan-
cial crisis facing Chile. There
is not a word about the ac-
ivities and statements while in
Chile. Castro’s statements and
definition of the NGLP’s and WP’s
worship of Castrismo and “the Cuban road to revolution” sky
high.

The Cuban regime and the Sta-
list bureaucracy have made it
absolutely clear that they stand
four square not only on the site
of Allende and his government
but behind the regime of Peruvian generals as well as what Castro’s visit
to Chile will all

Castro’s tour is a confirma-
tion of the struggle of the Inter-
national unions in South America and internationall
against all the re-
visionists. It is this political
stance that the International unions
to construct Trotskyist parties of the working class as part of the

None of the revisionist tenden-
cies including the International Socialists group, which have
forces in 100 even tried to raise
fight against the freeze at the
meeting. When questioned about this, one IS supporter said
that a motion for a general strike
at the meeting would be “laughed at.” This was the kind of
commitment that the Socialists and other revisionists practice
to continually help the bureau-
cracy get off the hook.

A fight must be taken up now
to demand the end of the out-
rageous scandals allowing international
or any other union! Not only is Beirne implicated in
this ploy, but Barry Hans Van Arsdale and the leadership of the
New York Central Labor Council has a responsibility to bring
all the forces and re-
course to that union to
call a demonstration of all New York labor
for the workers’ city if necessary to force the New York Telephone
Company to grant all the demands
of 100.

100 ranks discuss after militant meeting on November 27.

The supporters of the Con-
stituent Party on the Brooklyn docks have
totally retreated from any
fight for this program, saying
that it’s impossible. This is how
the Socialists hide their capitula-
tion behind the “left talk”
The brick side of the Bulletin pamphlet “Showdown on The
Docks” among longshoremen and the
great interest in the Workers
League meeting on the question
scheduled for November 30 re-
deflect the desire to fight for this
program and the potential for
the New York docks to make an
alternative leadership.

NAME
STREET
CITY
STATE
ZIP
Letter From Peru

Lora’s Revisionism Led to Bolivian Defeat

THE August coup d’etat of General Hugo Banzer in Bolivia was a crushing blow to the workers and peasants of that country. Despite the CIA-backed coup was a direct result of the betrayals of the workers’ leaders. In Bolivia, the Latin American CORRESPONDENT analyzes the position of the revisionist Revolutionary Movement of the Party of Labor (POR) in the Bolivian events. THE LEADERSHIP of the POR is the main cause of the defeat of the Bolivian working class in the last formidable class battle waged in that part of Latin America. I have summarized below the reasons why I consider the POR’s leadership to be chiefly responsible for the defeat.

OBSERVED

The POR leadership behaved as an observer of the developing revolutionary process than as the leadership of the party in the working class. Throughout the period from January to July, the POR was a military coup, with very few exceptions, the POR paper Massa, had no slogans, no calls for action, no coherent systematic line. It did not call for the formation of a Declaración de los Partidos de la Asamblea Popular, it should have mentioned the need for this thing to happen, and limited itself, with few exceptions, to comments about it.

In this way it behaved rather as an observer than as a leadership. This wouldn’t matter if it were not for the fact that the POR’s leadership was in a position of leadership in many working-class organizations.

If a revolutionary situation the crucial role is played by the objective situation, that is given, but by the subjective factor of leadership. The POR leadership failed miserably in spite of having all the conditions in its favor.

PEASANTRY

It is the ABC of Leninism that the revolution in a backward country needs the support of the peasantry which forms the bulk of the population. The POR’s leadership has also failed miserably to accomplish this task.

In the last year since January, only once has the peasantry been mentioned in Massa, in a very short note. The POR had no program for the peasantry and made no effort to break with the reactionary leadership of the peasantry.

COMPROMISE

This lack of attention to the peasant question was very badly disguised with the slogan of a united Anti-Fascist Front, forged on the basis of the Thesis for the East of the Fourth Congress of the Third International. By which it meant the POR into a cover for its betrayal of the Peasantry and for its capitulation vis-à-vis petty bourgeois nationalism and Stalinism. This capitulation took the following paths.

1. The compromise with the Stalinists in the last congress of the COR (the Bolivian Communist Workers) that was criticized by the French Communist Communist Internationalist in its theoretical journal La Révolution Internationale.

2. This compromise was justified with the base that this is the only path and not a party. With that excuse the POR fed doses of confusion to the Bolivian working class, supposed to the “dirty work”.

3. The careful avoidance of any attacks against the Stalinists in the only field where Stalinism can really be understood: their allegiance to the bureaucracy in Moscow.

4. The belated definition of Stalinism as “simply Menshevism” or “left wing of petty bourgeois nationalism” that provided the ideological cover for the refusal of the POR’s leadership to attack Stalinism in its own ground.

5. Since Menchevism, according to POR Secretary Guillermo Lora, “simply Menshevism,” it would be “separatist” to attack this form of Menschevism better; he then used forces and prove through the struggle that petty bourgeois nationalism” capitulated.

6. The revisionist concept of Stalinism introduced another further perspective: that the Stalinists would be forced to adopt revolutionary positions, to “capi- tulate and defend the contradictions between the struggle of the workers.” The counter-revolutionary character of the petty nationalism capital in the regimests could be seen from the revisionist viewpoint.

7. The capitulation of the POR’s leadership to petty bourgeois nationalism were more serious, even more criminal. The POR leadership made the arming of the Popular Assembly with weapons, the not working class itself, and its own organizations. The call for the alliance of workers, peasants and soldiers in the Popular Assembly was not made. The solution of the military question was taken away from the working class, not only when defining class, but on the contrary, the匏可ricators (Castro, Al- lende and Toledo) betrayed, only then were the horrific efforts launched to capture the Popular Army.

8. The capitulation of petty bourgeois nationalism also took the form of a widespread discredited in the POR “The Velasco Movement in Peru, and among the workers, will be forced to the rear on the Bolivian workers’ state in spite of the different differences (sic) they may have with it.

NO EXCUSE

This capitulation to petty bourgeoisie nationalism led to a split in the POR, and open alliance with ex-President Torres, who is asked to join a “left front” for demo- cratic liberties in Bolivia, a front which is being built on Chilean territory, and in the worst traditions of opportunism.

BETRAYAL

The failures and betrayals of the POR’s leadership listed above certainly cannot be attributed to the grounds of “mistakes” or “unpreparedness,” nor as just “pitfalls of a bankers’ capital that wants to become Trotskyist!”

Lora has frequently discussed the issues involved and defended them under the rubric of “revolutionary and correct,” and to date he has made no self-criticism worthy of the name.

The source of betrayal must be looked for elsewhere, not in “unpreparedness” or “naive.” No Marxist, no materialist, no Leninist would have ever done such damage to a mighty revolutionary upring.

POR’s leadership is totally alien to Mar- xism, to dialectical materialism, to Leninism and Trotskyism and more at ease within the world of petty bourgeois national- ism. And it must be treated as such.

At the beginning of this article I mentioned that the POR’s refusal to provide and exert leadership would not have been so important were it not for the fact that it held important positions of leadership in the organizations of the class. Equally, we could add that Lora and the POR’s leadership, who pose as Trotskyists and behave like sui-generis petty bourgeois nationalists, would not be dangerous were it not for the fact that numerous militant cadres of the Latin American working class look upon the POR’s leadership as a healthy revolutionary center, and are unaware of its treacherous policies.

The situation is even worse when one considers that under the protection of this revolutionary reputation, Lora has consist- ently behaved as a maneuver and an intriguist, lying, insinuating without foun- dation, with the sole purpose of building an image as a “practical fighting man.”

Lora counted on Torres, above, to arm workers against rightist coup.

Germany

Class War Explodes In Auto Strike

BY DAVID GREEN

THE MOST SERIOUS class battle in an auto strike of post-war Germany erupted last week as half a million workers belonging to the IG Metall union went on strike against the major auto firms.

The management of the Audi and Daimler-Benz plants responded to the strike action by locking out thousands of workers from plants not affected by the job action. The aim of the auto firms was to strengthen their position upon IG Metall a heavy burden in strike benefits in order to destroy its capacity to continue the strike.

The West German auto industry has been particularly hard hit by the national economic policies announced by President Nixon last August 15th. With their profits slashed by the upward revaluation of the deutsche Mark and the increased inter- national competition, the industrialists are determined to beat back the wage demands made by IG Metall.

Faced with a decline in their living standards caused by the steep rate of inflation, the union called for an 11 per cent increase. Employees were employed on 4.5 per cent; and refused to budge from this offer even after IG Metall lowered its demand to 9 per cent.

POWER

IG Metall has the power to win this strike. Its membership comprises half the unionized work force in West Germany, and the overwhelming strike vote proves that the rank-and-file is ready for a fight with the auto bosses. However, the leader- ship of the union is unwilling to wage an all-out fight. Even though the employ- ers are openly acting in nationwide solidi- darity against the strike, the union lea- dership poses only a regional perspective for the struggle.

The Federation of German Employers’ Association—its club-house of industrialists and bankers—caused the strike. It is the battle against the working class. It de- clared in a letter that “Member organi- zations should stand together in their wage policies and in their attitudes toward the further conduct of business.” The Federa- tion also advised the ruling class not to hire workers who have been employed in industries involved in strikes or lock- outs.

PROTEST

This display of ruling class solidarity should serve as a warning to those who doubt the determination of the capitalists to impose their will upon the working class. In a full-page advertisement that appeared in most of the national German papers last week, 63 leading industrialists publicly announced that they “can no longer keep quiet about the deep crisis of German capitalism. It is clear that the campaign has begun to impose wage re- spects upon workers and to break up the unions.

The militance of the German workers must throw with Willy Brandt’s Social-Demo- cratic Party (SPD) into deep crisis. At the recent Party Day Conference, dele- gates from the Young Socialists, youth movement of the SPD, expressed dissatis- faction with Brandt’s slow pace down the road of evolutionary socialism. The Young Socialists’ call for major tax reforms to be directed against corporate profits was resisted by Brandt.

The Chancellor also defended the eco- nomic policies of his openly pro-business finance minister Karl Schiller, who likes to be known as a liberal as well as a social-democrat. At the same time, the leadership of the SPD warned the Young Socialists that it would expel from the Party anyone who participates in a demon- stration sponsored by a communist movement.

The Social-Democrats do not have a ma- jority in the Bundestag. They rule only through a coalition with the liberal bour- geois Free Democratic Party. This strike puts them in a difficult position of no alliance; and the strong arm tactics of the auto industrialists are in part designed to smash this coalition and force new elections.

The treacherous policies of Brandt ad- vance the possibility of a return of the Christian Democratic Union to power. Should the principal capitalist party in Germany assume control of the govern- ment, the stage would be set for open attacks upon every gain made by the working class since the end of World War II.
Stalinism And Coalition Politics

George Morris Renews Attack On Trotskyism

BY DAN FRIED.


In the article, Morris presents a Stalinist version of the movement for "independence" in politics in the labor movement from the last century until today, but with emphasis on the period from Roosevelt's New Deal, up until today and the Communist Party's 1971 election campaign plans.

Perhaps what Morris and the CP mean by "independence" will become clearer as we deal with the attacks on Trotskyism in his pamphlet "Rebellion in the Unions: A Handbook for Rank and File Action" and which he repeats in the Political Affairs article. Once again in attacking "old leftists" of the Trotskyite vintage as well as anarchists and Marxists--all of whom he lumped together--Morris makes it clear that it's the real Trotskyist movement represented by the Workers League that he is after.

This is why he singles out for attack those "calling for a labor party now," rejecting any approach short of that goal.

Morris once again refers to the May 1970 Chicago conference of the CP sponsored Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, which according to Morris, "temporarily rejected the provocative efforts of several delegates from Trotsky-type groups for a labor party now."

The Workers League alone took up the fight for a labor party now into this conference, and into every union possible and has since then concretized this struggle in the form of the delegate for the building of a labor party for the '72 elections.

BUREAUCRACY

As far as Morris is concerned, it is not necessary to fight for this labor party or even to call for a "mass independent party."

"It is quite evident," he writes, "that we must develop a new party that could be in the field in 1972 in not very promising. Nor is it realistic to expect that CPUSA will make any change in this direction."

"We recognize that there are individual Democrats and Republicans who are pro-labor, pro-peace, anti-racist and anti-imperialist who merit labor's support."

"It is a fact that the list of such Democrats is long and includes those who have supported over the years includes Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and New York Mayors Robert Wagner and John Lindsay, to name a few."

"In an attempt to give this support to such Democrats we will labor to develop a more sophisticated defense, Morris refers to Communist Party General Secretary Philip Habib's speech at last year's CP National Committee meeting:"

"The primaries," he (Habib) stated, "must not be underestimated as indicators of the conflicts and trends within the old parties because the masses who are going to be the base of a new party are not yet ignoring the present electoral system."

"The mass breakaway out of the two-party system facilitated by "the organization of independent forms while still working through old party structures," Habib concludes.

All this is Stalinist double-talk for support for individuals Democrats and Republicans. They see a "new party," not at all a class party based essentially on the industrial working class, but as an outgrowth of the "progressive" trends within the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats, which is another way of saying that the CP can be able to take over the Democratic Party.

As reported in the Daily World on November 1, 1971, "The CP made a positive case against the recommendations of the National Demo Committee on black caucus in Alabama.

"The Working World further makes clear that while it supports all the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, it leans toward the "more progressive" Shirley Chisolm-Ron Dellums wing, which includes of course Manhattan Democratic political boss Percy Sutton. In line with this is the CP's open apology for Neil Jackson's "nigger is the reason" and "less white alikes.""

CHISHOLM

Most important is to understand that the CP's support for Shirley Chisholm and Ron Dellums is of the same order as his support for the candidacy of Walworth Catlin, a candidate of the Reform Party. This is nothing more than a means of putting pressure on the Democratic Party to nominate an "acceptable" candidate like Edward Kennedy, George McGovern or perhaps John Lindsay.

"There is no doubt that the Stalinists will find a way to justify support for these men or for that matter for Muskie as a "lesser evil" in '72."

"The Communist Party's 1971 official election campaign in which they are running Hall for President and Jarvis Tyner for Vice President is a stalling horse campaign to promote the candidacy of a coalition candidate--a liberal or "reform" Democrat. This was the same sort of campaign they ran in the early days of the Popular Front in the 1930s making clear their support for Roosevelt behind the slogan that "it was good in London (FDR's Reform opponent) at all costs."

In his Political Affairs article Morris states that the movement for "a third or labor party" was "drawn into defense of the New Deal Program and the pressure for unity in support of the anti-fascist war drew the movement into the Roosevelt strategy."

"At the same time we can begin to see what Morris means by his opposition to the "third parties" when he says that "in New York the American Labor Party was formed by a coalition of a substantial part of the unions with the active backing of the Communists and other political groups."

"The truth is that the ALP was formed at the initiative and under the leadership of the CP and its supporters in the unions. It was a July 1 movement, in support of the vote of the New York workers into the Roosevelt "stream."

COLLABORATION

During the same CP campaign Morris carried out Stalin's policy of class collaboration in its struggle against the "unwashed masses," the "insurgents," the "radical" group, the "pioneers," the "independent," the "fellow travelers," the "alternative," the "opposition," the "left," the "radical," the "anti-capitalists," the "internationalists," the "anti-imperialists," the "left." The Communist Party's Fifth Column in the Labor Movement written by Morris has already been paraphrased in "The Trotskyite Fifth Column" in the Labor Movement by the Workers League. Morris viciously denounced the Trotskyists for their principled opposition to Roosevelt and fight for a labor party. Consciously and deliberately spreading the most vile Stalinist slanders, Morris wrote:

"Trotskyites...found themselves allied of...and eventually working companies with, the most reactionary forces--caucasian politicians, foreign imperialists and fascists who sought to overthrow the Soviet government."

DIVERT

Far from singling out the CP along with the "popular sentiment" for Roosevelt, the Stalinists consciously sought to divert the workers from the movement of the working class away from the "non-party" section, away from the labor party in subordination to Roosevelt and the Democrats.

This policy has almost 100 years of the Marxist struggle for the principle of labor party subordination to the working class into a complete distortion of Lenin's conception of the United Front. The CP and the leadership of the alliance of the working class with the "bourgeoisie" had already written off the movement, they have renamed this counterrevolutionary alliance in more recent years the "people's alliance"--anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist--and it was put forward to defend the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy which had usurped political power from the workers in the Soviet Union.

Thus, today as in the past, the Stalinists do not begin with the principle of workers' democracy or Marxist principle, but with a pragmatic accommodation to the "realities" of capitalist politics. With this method they do not see the Democratic Party as a bourgeois party but rather as a part of the "progressive" labor movement's "left" tendencies and take sides with the "progressives.""

METHOD

This is how Morris writes, "On the other hand, we have also seen a positive tendency in the various reform movements in the Democratic Party as in New York and California."

The same method is applied by Morris in his picture of COPE, the machinery set up by the AFL-CIO to support the Democrats: "It was the only instrument available to workers for massive political action. It did provide some political influence for positive objectives."

POWER

This method is being brought in by the Stalinists again today to begin the struggle for the independent mobilization of the working class and the workers above all to attempt to sabotage the fight for formation of a labor party, the crisis in the CP's "independent" party in which the "coalition" bourgeois politics becomes a life and death struggle for the working class.
BY RICHARD RIVERA  
SAN DIEGO—An "informa-
tional" meeting was held here by IAM Local 555 to attempt to cover the latest betrayals by the bureaucrats in their dealings with ROHR Corporation.

Originally, ROHR had tried to coerce the employees to settle quickly for less than nothing by giving the union 10 days notice of their intent to close the plant, saying that they would no longer have a contract which expired November 1. The ranks, already fed up with ROHR's attacks of the shop, production quotas, layoffs, and abuses of the contract, let it be known throughout the plant that they were calling ROHR's bluff. The membership is determined that ROHR wants us to be the ones to break the contract. They are in the midst of shipping truckloads of work to their subcontractors every day in order to avoid conflict with the all the work still in the plant at the end of the strike.

In a period of rapidly deepening economic crisis in which the aerospace industry is feeling very severely, a work stoppage at ROHR could be a death knell for the industry. It will be forced to buy huge blocks of its own stock to keep prices from plummeting to prices that are considered unprofitable.

Hence, they turn to their buds-
dies in the union leadership to help them out more time. Threats didn't intimidate the workers, so now they turn to those who have so much experience and ability to call off the dogs.

The informational meeting was a very carefully planned part of the bureaucrats' plan to call ROHR's dirty work. Floor miners were set up behind them and they start to throw things that get too rowdy out there.

EDITORIAL

have acted to give a left face to the Woodcocks and Abels. Participation on the Pay Board has strengthened Nixon's hand in striking blows against the dockers. It is no accident that when GM workers at Fremont vote to demand their delegates to the UAW convention fight to get Woodcock off the Board and to prepare a general strike the Peoples' World does not even consider the reporting.

The use of Taft-Hartley against the ILA will now increase the pressure on Bridges who has been forced to issue some statements with the ILA on the need for unity. It threatens to completely expose and discredit the Stalinists.

The objective conditions are now maturing in the ILWU for the emergence of an alliance of workers that can take up the fight to forge a fighting unity with the ILA.

This means the construction of a rank and file movement pledged to a unity pact with the ILA to prepare a nationwide strike that will shut down every port and keep them shut until that goal is achieved.

It means that the fight for a labor party in 1972 pledged to a shorter work week, an end to inflation and the nationalization of all industries threatening layoffs or closures.
Editorial

Fight For ILWU-ILA Unity!
Prepare Nationwide Shutdown!

The decision to force striking ILA dockers back to work under the emergency provisions of Taft-Hartley is an act of desperation on the part of the Nixon Administration.

If the East Coast longshoremen return it will be with the 40 hour guarantee in New York still intact and with an absolute determination to fight to defend every gain.

The employers had hoped to defeat the ILA and then turn with a vengeance on the ILWU. It is for this reason that the final offer of the PMA to West Coast dockers was an insulting slap in the face.

Longshoremen on both coasts are now posed with an historic opportunity to hold the split and emerge with a fighting national unity that can bring Nixon and the employers to their knees.

For the first time there is an understanding developing on both coasts that a national dock strike is not only possible but is the only way forward. The rank and file of both unions now confront the freeze and government strike-breaking together. The ranks are determined that jobs and conditions will be eroded no further and that every docker has the right to the guarantee of a full week’s pay.

It is in the head on political confrontation with the government now developing that the criminal role of the leaderships of both unions is most clear. Both Bridges and Gleason have accepted Nixon’s Pay Board and have refused to lift a finger to mobilize labor in the fight to bring down the freeze.

Both have allowed the participation of the labor movement on the Pay Board without a protest. They act to isolate dockers from the essential political fight and they give Nixon more time to prepare the fight with his new legislation designed to impose compulsory arbitration on the transport unions.

In all of this the Stalinists have continued a counterrevolutionary role in covering up for Bridges and fighting tooth and nail to maintain the divisions between the coasts.

They have refused from the beginning to warn and prepare dockers for a political fight with the government seeking to keep the strike on a trade union level. Even as late as November 29th the People’s World refused to come out clearly for a united fight with the ILA confining itself to some vague phrases that “the strategy the union will pursue is still unclear.” They begin at all times with their support to “progressive” Harry and their narrow local interests in the affairs of the bureaucracy, never with the objective needs of longshoremen across the country.

Above all the People’s World and its supporters

(Continued On Page 2)

Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale speaks at church to Stanford University audience.

Mr. Schrade Fiddles While Aerospace Burns

BY A UAW MEMBER

LONG BEACH—4,500 striking UAW members of Cana- dian McDonnell Douglas have just rejected the latest contract offer in Toronto by a vote of 2 to 1. They be- come the focal point for all aerospace bargaining as the seven week old strike continues.

Local 6973 comprises three billion plants that produce wing access panels for the McDonnell Douglas DC-10. Both planes are assembled at the Long Beach McDonnell Douglas plant where 1,600 mem- bers working without a contract since September 15.

They have been complying with a UAW directive to stay on the job because of the “uncertainties” of the wage freeze.

UAW Local President Clarence Gregory, has estimated that production will halt this week at the Long Beach plant because of the shortage of Canadian wing assembly parts.

Long Beach workers are being told that the only smart thing for them to do is to show up at work as long as they can while their leaders gain clarity on Nixon’s Phase II and wait until laid off so they can draw unemploy- ment.

The UAW and IAM have an agreement signed last March for mutual cooperation and joint action. On October 2 some 300 local union leaders attended a UAW-IAM Joint Aerospace Lea- dership Meeting in Los Angeles. These delegates endorsed a proposal from the UAW’s Wood- cock and IAM’s Smith to estab- lish a common strike date at McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, North American Rockwell and Lockheed to be decided by the leadership after they “experience” Nixon’s Phase II.

It is now apparent that this leadership is afraid to call a na- tional strike because of stiffened employer resistance backed by the freeze and the threat of injunctions. These bureaucrats are retreating to their “out-of-time” strategy at a time when the life and death of the trade union is at stake.

The 150,000 aerospace wor- kers, who face layoffs on the job while Woodcock and Smith stay on the Pay Board hoping to win concessions from individual unions.

The criminality of their acts is further compounded by their going to seek an inadequate high pressure settlement on the Canadian strikers and break up the impasse in the U.S.

This stepped up pressure in Canada has resulted in the direct intervention of two top UAW vice presidents, Ken Bumpus and Dennis McDermott along with UAW representa- tives of the UAW Aero- space Department. They took over local bargaining sessions only to find that the workers are not buying any of their phony settlement schemes.

Aerospace locals across the country report record strike votes. Both the UAW and the Machinists Union report strike votes averaging over 94% a do- zens times the normal.

The ranks are demanding a large catch-up raise coupled with unrestricted cost-of-living, 10 years out and strong sup- port exists for the four day week with no cut in pay and strengthen- ed Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

According to UAW/Western Di- rector Paul Schrade “about 200,000 aerospace jobs have been eliminated since 1967 in Cali- fornia alone.” He adds “it is time to stop dismantling the world’s highest skilled work force.”

This was Schrade’s plea to a Nixon appointed Joint Recovery Re- view Board meeting held in Los Angeles and comprising represen- tatives from all levels of government, industry, labor and the academic community.

This group, of course, has noth- ing to offer for the crisis of plant closures and unemployment.

Schrade begs this group to do something about foreign competi- tion. He claims that “The Mc- Donnell Douglas Corp has al- ready licensed a Japanese firm to build F-4 Phantom aircraft on Japanese soil.” Schrade con- tinues, “in addition McDonnell Douglas, Boeing and Lockheed are currently competing for a program to assist Japan in the manufacture of a medium range aircraft and Boeing is working with an Italian corporation to assist in building short take-off and landing aircraft in Italy.”

Schrade concludes that “the shipment of aircraft work overseas must stop or an industry that has already seriously crippled could disappear altogether.”

Schrade has accurately por- tinged the problem.

(Continued On Page 3)

Actors Fight Job Loss

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HOLLYWOOD—The class struggle is breaking out in the Screen Actors Guild. SAG has one local based here and a membership of some 20,000.

80% of the membership earn less than $10,000 a year and at the present time over half are unemployed or working else- where.

The SAG was led until recently by Charlton Heston who cam- paigned for moderation. He main- tained the SAG should be “a responsible moderate force for progress in the industry.”

Recently candidates represent- ing the unemployed and under- employed contested the presiden- tial elections demanding that the SAG conduct a trade union policy to fight for “more bread on working actors’ tables and more coins in their pockets.”

The opposition candidate Bert Freed was defeated 2 to 1 by John Gavin, but things will not be the same. Gavin stands for a continuation of the old policy maintaining that “With only two viable studios left open in Holly- wood, you just can’t put a pin to the industry’s head and bring it down.”

Freed claims that he wants “to take the actor down off his pedestal and admit he’s an aver- age working guy.”

Freed is expected to compromise with the producers as the crisis of capitalism tears the cultural industry apart. Not subsidies from Nixon but the nationaliza- tion of the entertainment indus- try under workers’ control is the only way forward.
Editorial

Fight For ILWU-ILA Unity!
Prepare Nationwide Shutdown!

The decision to force striking ILA dockers back to work under the emergency provisions of Taft-Hartley is an act of desperation on the part of the Nixon Administration.

If the East Coast longshoremen return it will be with the 40 hour guarantee in New York still intact and with an absolute determination to fight to defend every gain.

The employers had hoped to defeat the ILA and then turn with a vengeance on the ILWU. It is for this reason that the final offer of the PMA to West Coast dockers was an insulting slap in the face.

Longshoremen on both coasts are now posed with an historic opportunity to hold the split and emerge with a fighting national unity that can bring Nixon and the employers to their knees.

For the first time there is an understanding developing on both coasts that a national docks strike is not only possible but is the only way forward. The rank and file of both unions now confront the freeze and government strike-breaking together. The ranks are determined that jobs and conditions will be eroded no further and that every docker has the right to the guarantee of a full week’s pay.

It is in the head on political confrontation with the government now developing that the criminal role of the leaderships of both unions is most clear. Both Bridges and Gleason have accepted Nixon’s Pay Board and have agreed to lift a finger to mobilize labor in the fight to bring down the freeze.

Both have allowed the participation of the labor movement on the Pay Board without a price. They act to isolate dockers from the essential political fight and they give Nixon more time to prepare the fight with his new legislation designed to impose compulsory arbitration on the transport unions.

In all of this the Stalinists have continually played a counterrevolutionary role in covering up for Bridges and fighting tooth and nail to maintain the divisions between the coasts.

They have refused from the beginning to warn and prepare dockers for a political fight with the government seeking to keep the strike on a trade union level. Even as late as November 28th the People’s World refused to come out clearly for a united fight with the ILA confining itself to some vague phrases that the strategy the union will pursue is still unclear. They begin at all times with their support to “progressive” Harry and their narrow local interests in the affairs of the bureaucracy, never with the objective needs of longshoremen across the country.

Above all the People’s World and its supporters

Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale speaks at church to Stanford University audience.

Mr. Schrade Fiddles While Aerospace Burns

BY A UAW MEMBER
LONG BEACH—4500 striking UAW members of Cana- dian McDonnell Douglas have just rejected a latest contract offer in Toronto by a vote of 2 to 1. They become the focal point for all aerospace bargaining as the seven week old strike continues.

Local 6733 comprises three Ontario plants that produce wing assemblies for Boeing 747s at Yor- kton. Both plants are assembled at the Long Beach McDonnell Douglas concessions for 1050 members working without a contract since September.

They have been complying with a UAW directive to stay on the job because of the “uncertainties” of the wage freeze.

UAW Local President, Clarence Gregores, has estimated production will halt this week at the Long Beach plant because of the shortage of Canadian wing sheet metal.

Long Beach workers are being told that the only smart thing for them to do is continue working as long as they can while their leaders gain clarity on Nixon’s Phase II and wait to be laid off so they can draw unemployment.

The UAW and IAM have an agreement signed last March for mutual cooperation and joint action. On October 2 some 300 local union leaders attended a UAW-IAM Joint Aerospace Lea- dership Meeting in Los Angeles.

These delegates endorsed a proposal from the UAW’s Wood- cock and IAM’s Smith to estab- lish a common strike date at Mcdonnell Douglas, Boeing, North American Rockwell and Lockheed to be decided by the leadership after they “explore” Nixon’s Phase II.

It is now apparent that this leadership is afraid to call a national strike because of stiffened employer resistance backed by the freeze and the threat of injunctions. These bureaucrats are retreating to their “bit-by-bit” time” strategy at a time when the life and death of the trade unions is at stake.

The 150,000 aerospace work- ers are forced to stay on the job while Woodcock and Smith stay on the Pay Board hoping to win concessions from the national unions.

The criminality of their acts is further compounded by their

seeking to impose an inadequate high pressure settlement on the Canadian strikers which will break up the impasse in the U.S.

This stepped up pressure in Canada has prompted one of the direct intervention of two top UAW vice presidents, Ken Bouss and Dennis McDermott along with repre- sentatives of the UAW Aero- space Department. They took over local bargaining sessions only to find that the workers are not buying any of their phony settlement schemes.

Aerospace locals across the country report contract strike votes. Both the UAW and the Machinists Union report strike votes averaging over 94% at do- zons of plants.

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The opposition candidate Bert Freed was defeated 2 to 1 by John Gavino, but times will not be the same. Gavino stands for a continuation of the old policy maintaining that "With only two viable studios left open in Holly- wood, you just can’t put a pin on the industry’s head and bring home the bacon."

Freed claims that he wants "to take the actor down off his pedestal and admit he’s an aver- age working guy."

There can be no compromise with the producers as the crisis of capitalism tears the cultural industry apart. Not subsidies from Nixon but the nationalization of the entertainment indus- try under workers’ control is the only way forward.

From Labor Publications

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SHOWDOWN ON THE DOCKS

BY DAN FRIED

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